War

614 There is no use of a head without feet. At
788 least this is the idea. They are the leg men
565 of the head. The Hurint cuts the head off, and they also cut or finish or decide cases. Thus the double entendre words which seem to prevail in this language come to light. Also the Hurint do the praying, and in the old days the priests were from this suku as well as were the judges. The Marang passed around and still pass around sirih, or perhaps coffee today, at the rites. The Marang also acts as general helper so that if any of the other three have trouble with the beast he rushes in to aid. The function is symbolized not quite so clearly as for the other three, but the social system is symbolized in ritual which in turn reflects a system of rank and function.

632 I heard another thing which should be inter-
614 esting to follow up. The kakang is a Leboba man
583 from one of the Kottang subsibs. His sib (one
●576 of the two Belepe Lolong, and must be Lango'
431 Bele' as he has much power) gives women to the guru's sib (Ama Hurint Ola Demo[ng] Lango' Bele') and must be given fowl by the latter. The latter gets women from the former, and gets fish from the former too. Thus fowl and fish form a gift exchange following the marriage exchange system. Evidently the sib that gets the women gives the fowl, and the one that gives the women also gives the fish. Could this be again the serpent and the dove? The kakang said that if he went to the guru's house and there happened to be some fowl cooking there, he must get some, or it would be a terrible breach of respect and much shame would be felt. I think this is correct, but I must check it later.

194 The peculiar nasal end sound indicated by
[114] the parentheses in my orthography is hard to get and Vatter[1] messes it up. The guru says it is hard even for a man from Larantuka town to say it.

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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191 is always in Manggarai. I have seen this before. "Mengerti sedikit, tidak bisa tjakap [I understand a little bit, but I can't speak it].

53 177 831 We saw a poor show at the pasar malam. It was a sandiwara traveling troupe like the one I saw on the ship. It consisted of torch singers and crooners. The gallery came down with a carioca in western dress. The contact was not close, but closer than they used to make it, and at the end the woman half fell into the man's arms. They shrieked. This very mild sex symbolism in dance was extreme for them. Their dances, as usual, are incredibly dull. The songs repeat themselves over and over again. 526 And they carry on their whip fighting day after day. They even abuse football, and play it from dawn to dusk. This is like the ten games [171] of baseball a day in Micronesia. They overdo things.

201 ●576 123 832 As we were sitting in the assistant's house with him and the other guru, a woman came in and swiftly pushed her face into mine, holding my head and rubbing noses. It seemed almost as though she were using her mouth a bit too, and I wondered if this were a combination of nose rub and sniff kiss. She then went quickly to Kattenburg and then to the two guru. Nothing would stop her, even embarrassed protests from the guru. The assistant asked who she was, and the other said she was Marcus's wife (who's that?). We were so embarrassed that we turned at once back to the questions, and we acted as though nothing had happened. We saw her later in the rear of the house, looking queer. Query: Was she crazy, or was she doing some bit of unthinking etiquette? But even if she were crazy, she must have been following a pattern here, or why do it in exactly that way? It would have been better if it had been the other guru's wife, who is a beauty.

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778 feasts. Thus it is like Barupu in Toradja.
769 (Ratebedi is one of the Rabu kampongs.
346 Vavoëü is another, and so is the non-shrine
574 kampong Kekamberu. The others which have merely the grave-bone shrines have a feast only when they need to fix up a shrine.

632 The next day we went to Roworeke again. Note an error in the preceding notes: The sikesani besar, who lives in Worowai, is of the suku Nggonggora'ba. Thus the Big Four are as follows: Mosa laki mere of Rewarangga, Giri tumba of Odja. Ndeto au of Rewarangga, and Sikesani of Nggonggora'ba. The names of these posts mean: mosa, male (animal); laki, male (human); mere, big; giri, around; tumba, spear (he walks around with a spear); ndetu, many colored; au, bamboo; sike, here; sani, there.

181 I am always impressed by the combination of
124 lack of courtesy and the cringing servility of
●576 these Endenese. They constantly talk to each other when I am talking, pass remarks about me in Endenese, etc. At the same time they keep on "tuarning" and bowing. They are grasping too. For example, the kapitan looks steadily at my gold watch and band and asked me to sell him U.S. gold pieces. The assistant asked me to give him personally a ring-spiral notebook such as used for the work. He can't answer questions on the schedule, so I have to do it all. The kapitan is a bit better, and the guru is smarter, but I get the idea that these folk are a rather poor lot.

784 Again we got on to the subject of totemism.
262 The word for such taboos is pire. I doubt that
614 I got the whole story, but as far as I can see
562 there are three kinds of totem taboos and they apply to foods:

(1) Suku or pu'u taboo. This is called pire ngguäh, the latter term meaning "descen-

614 this is so too. Thus there is a kind of "kepala
624 suku" in the form of one of the mosa who is hereditary in the suku. This means, however, that there may be suku with no big man in them because there is no hereditary rank in them. Such would be the suku which had lost their privileges in the old kampong of origin and which had not obtained any office in any of the other kampongs to which they have moved.

576 A lower person must sit or squat in the
516 presence of the kapitan or mosa laki. This is respect. There are no honorific terms of address. They just call the officer by his title. Only the educated ones even know the use of the term "tuan."

789 I have been unable, even with the most extreme pressure, to get anything on magic power of individual persons here. The dukun and the bisa mari are just dreamers and clever ones with second sight and occult gifts. I can find nothing of the true magic power of office that clothes the radjas of Celebes.

611 Monday, January 16. Today I left Ende for
184 Larantuka. I stopped and asked a man in Tana Ai about the matrilineal rules and finally got it out. It happened that the place I asked about this was over the border of Larantuka, to the east of Tana Ai, and he said that here in West Larantuka the matrilineal adat of Tana Ai is also found. In fact, he spotted the border for me exactly, which represents a new find for the book. These towns are in the matrilineal part of Larantuka: Unu, Palueh Lewalalang, Sukutukang, Riangwulo (which is where he and his group were from), Kedang, Bawalatang, Duang, Tabana, and Watubuku. These represent the eastern border of Tana Ai matrilineal adat. To the east of them all is patrilineal, that is, Lewotobi (e.g., Riangbarang). This is excellent material.

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565 but a Minangkabau. He belongs to a soccer
634 team called ATOM (Anak Tanah Orang Manggarai).
578 Is there any "nationalistic" resurgence under the merdeka stuff here? Who would lead? There are only the gelarang. I can see a good chance for elective democracy here, because (1) the old adat system lives, and its class levels are minimal (as the assistant says, the gelarang are "middle"), (2) the dalu may represent Bima rule (and the assistant insists that they are of alien origin), (3) the radja represents the oppression of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. Thus the old shakiness of the Flores radjas is even more remarkable here, and the radja is very new anyway.

[124] But the assistant is not ready to talk. I tried to stir up things by saying that perhaps in twenty years there would be no more radjas in Flores. But I think the lesson of oppression has been too recent. It will take a little time for the revolution, if any, to get going in Flores.

565 The kraeng said, when I asked if there was
614 any difference in looks between the classes,
● [516] that it was a matter of manners (he said it was a matter of with whom one associates) and money. But he said that you can tell by the manners. I get a definite impression that the kraeng are proud, and perhaps a bit snobbish. I then tried to get at the class business via the clans. I got this, which jibes with the kampongs, as the kampongs are largely clan units, although there is some mixture:

(1) There are one hundred per cent gelarang va'u, e.g., Veol.

(2) There are one hundred per cent leke va'u, e.g., Adjang and the other formerly lampang kampongs, Levat, and the other formerly sekontu va'u, and Lerong, and the other formerly mangko' pitu va'u.

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609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one
●[576] hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah and others, when they leave me, bend way over. Sikka, he says, is different.

576 171 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here. The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records
[595] 124 the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampong has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
516 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas